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ABSTRACT

An attempt to provide an alternative set of procedures for cross-cultural training aims at imparting skills which enable the Peace Corps Volunteer to make the necessary adjustment of his own behavioral style and to evaluate host country patterns more accurately, in order to facilitate communication across cultural barriers. The introduction provides a general framework for understanding culture generally as well as providing specific guidelines for discovering plausible alternatives, information gathering methods, and cultural and social dynamics. The first objective is to attack ethnocentrism by finding alternative, and equally plausible, solutions to problems. The exercises progress to the creation of experiences which serve as a basis for discussion of these alternatives, finally putting the trainee in an actual cultural experience without structure in order to allow the previous controlled experiences to aid his recognizing new cultural relevance and/or differences. The latter step is enhanced by a series of exercises in community involvement and country-specific activities, dealing with housing, job and personal experiences, as well as methods of obtaining information through newspapers, films and role-playing situations. References are included. (Author/KSM)

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

This is the second contribution of Dr. James F. Downs to our quarterly; he first appeared here last December with "Fables, Fancies and Failures in Cross-Cultural Training," for which there was such a demand that it had to be reprinted.

The author's background reads like a testimonial. Before enrolling at the Berkeley campus of the University of California at the age of 30, he had worked as a newspaperman, professional horseman and farmer, besides spending six years in the U.S. Navy. In 1958 Jim Downs took his B.A. (and made Phi Beta Kappa), in 1960 his M.A., and in 1961 his Ph.D. -- all in Anthropology, all at Berkeley. His achievement in going all the way to a Ph.D. in five years is made all the more remarkable by the fact that all the while he was working on the outside, mostly in Public Relations.

His predoctoral research had been among the American Indians, principally the Washo of Nevada and the Navajo of Arizona, concentrating on the relationship between the cultures of these people and the way they exploited their environment for a living. After receiving his doctorate he returned to work with the Navajo before accepting a language fellowship at the University of Washington, where he studied Chinese and Japanese, and developed an interest in Tibetan culture. In 1966 he went to India to study among the Tibetan refugees there. The next year he returned briefly to the Navajo reservation to assist in a TESL program, and in 1968 went back to India to continue his Tibetan studies.

Prior to coming to Hilo in the spring of 1969, he taught at the University of Rochester in New York, California State College in Los Angeles, and the University of Arizona. He is now Cross-Cultural Specialist at CCCTR and Professor of Anthropology at the University of Hawaii Hilo Campus, where he is involved in the Integrated Freshman Program which he was instrumental in developing.

His books include Washo Religion, 1961; Animal Husbandry in Navajo Society and Culture, 1964; The Two Worlds of the Washo, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966; and Human Variation, an Introduction to Physical Anthropology, 1969, Glencoe Press, which he co-authored with H. K. Bliebtreu.

In preparation are Nez Ch'ii, a Pastoral Community of the Navajo Indian Reservation, (in press), Holt, Rinehart and Winston; Conflicts in Culture, the Idea of Culture in Modern Life, (in press), Glencoe Press; and Pilgrimage in Tibetan Society and Culture, of which he is co-author. He is also writing, in collaboration with Dr. Henry T. Lewis, Human Environment, an Introduction to Cultural Ecology.

Dr. Downs is a fellow of the American Anthropological Association and a member of the Tibet Society.

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INTRODUCTION

With the firm establishment of tested and successful procedures in language training and the development of effective methods of imparting technical skills, Peace Corps training has turned increasingly to an examination of the so-called Cross-Cultural Component.

In a previous article* I discussed the general principles of cross-cultural training and made reference to the production of a manual for Cross-Cultural Studies undertaken by the Center for Research and Education.** The present effort is an attempt to provide an alternative set of procedures for cross-cultural training, a set which in my opinion gets more directly to the heart of the matter: the imparting of skills which enable the Volunteer to make the necessary adjustment of his own behavioral style and to evaluate Host Country patterns more accurately, in order to facilitate communication across cultural barriers.

The appearance of this outline should not be construed as criticism of the work done by Wight, et al., but rather an elaboration. My own feeling is that, because of the historical involvement of only certain of the social and behavioral sciences in Peace Corps operations, there is a tendency for training and evaluation to be too much personality- or individual-centered, when the actual problem is a cultural one. In short, I think we overemphasize personal behavior and understanding, while failing to emphasize the concepts of culture and society as the important variables in training and living in a different culture.

(*) Downs, James F., trends, Vol. 2, No. 3.

(**) Wight, Albert, et al., Guidelines for Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Training.

This is not to say that the individual trainee is not the focus of training because obviously he is -- or should be. However, for the individual to work well within a different cultural context, he must recognize intellectually -- and viscerally, if you will -- an important variable of human existence which, for most people in any nation, goes unrecognized because of its pervasiveness. That variable is culture, the major determinant of the action of any individual in the course of his day-to-day life.

Before proceeding to elaborate, perhaps we should define more sharply -- or at least, discuss more fully -- precisely what is meant by the term: culture.

UNDERSTANDING CULTURE

(Guidelines and Techniques for Training)

More than 250 definitions of the term "culture" were listed in a scholarly tour de force published over 20 years ago by Kroeber and Kluckhohn.* The number has not been reduced in the ensuing decades. But all of these usages have at least a core of agreement which enables professionals in Anthropology, despite widely divergent interests, to maintain communication.

Culture is the unique potential of human beings...a potential, to our knowledge, not shared by any other species. Modern investigations into the lives of porpoises have suggested that perhaps they do indeed have a language, which once was considered the exclusive possession of man. If so, it is possible that the porpoise can also boast of a culture. But at this time such questions, while fascinating, are not really germane to the problems of training human beings to interact with other human beings in cross-cultural situations.

Human culture is a distinctly different aspect of our species which, Desmond Morris to the contrary, makes us more than "Naked Apes."** It is culture, in fact, which makes us clothed apes, if we are ape at all. Not only clothed apes, but apes with special sets of clothing for playing

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(*) Kroeber, A. L., Kluckhohn, Clyde, Culture, A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions.

(**) Morris, Desmond, The Naked Ape.

tennis, getting married, displaying our rank, enticing the opposite sex, insuring that judicial or academic dignity is recognized -- and, occasionally, to keep warm.*

Culture is a group phenomenon; it is shared by a number of people, or it is not culture. We have today come to think of the culture of anything from an insurance office to an entire nation. What we are talking about is a shared system of understanding between the members of one group which makes it different from all other groups.

The culture of insurance offices tends to be similar, just as the cultures of the Bushman of Australia, the Kalahari desert, and the Indians of the Great Basin of the United States tend to be similar, i.e., these different groups have to solve the same basic problems. But at the same time, each office or each tribe of hunters or gatherers is distinct enough so that both insiders and outsiders can tell the difference. Within the temporary and transitory culture of an office or factory, we can define the cultural differences in terms of the styles imposed or evolved because of unique organizational history and the juxtaposition of individual personalities, giving rise to local office traditions, special jokes, special jargon, even styles of dress and demeanor. For the more elaborate culture -- that of a larger group which reproduces itself biologically and

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(*) The obvious and "natural" reason for the invention of clothing -- i.e., to keep warm and protect us from the sun -- appears to be no reason at all, judging from the ethnographic record. This suggests that in most environments wearing clothing is a cultural habit, rather than a physical necessity.

socially through time -- differences are marked by language, religion, customs, dress, food preference, child-raising patterns, legends, self-image, morals, sexual behavior, and virtually all other activities.

It is difficult to point to any aspect of human life which is purely personal or idiosyncratic. Even the position one normally takes in coitus or elimination is taught to us. Our attitude toward property or the person of others...or the proper distance between people talking to each other...or which foods are good and which make one sick -- all are culturally defined. In fact, research has shown that even the decision that one is sick is a cultural decision, that is, one defines his wellness or sickness, not by examining how he feels but by reporting how he feels to others -- and then decides whether or not he is sick, in terms of their responses.

Spanish Americans in the Southwest tend to be sick only if they are told so by a woman who stands in relation to them, like their grandmother. American Anglos tend to be sick only if a doctor tells them they are. A Navajo is not really sick until a chanter or seer has examined him, observed his actions, and pronounced him out of harmony with the universe.

Our physiological functions tend to be culturally affected. It is our culture which tells us that something is beautiful or ugly or erotic or exciting -- and sends our pulse-rate climbing. Unbelievably, to most Americans, it is possible to get excited over a cricket match, or remain utterly unmoved by a triple-play. But the American who is excited by cricket or bored by baseball is often regarded, by his fellow Americans, as somewhat eccentric. I shudder at the thought of the consequences if I had been confronted, during World War II, with one of those situations

wherein the password and countersign had to do with the latest baseball news. And yet, the assumption that any American would surely know about baseball does indicate the nature of culture.

But these random examples of the pervasiveness of culture do not really, I think, get to the heart of the matter for trainers. The recognition and recording of cultural differences were an important step in the development of the cultural sciences, and one which monopolized the minds of most Anthropologists during the past century or more. However much Ethnographers and Ethnologists concentrated on pointing out the differences between cultures, and recording the enormous variety of human solutions to universal problems, others have always sought to universalize. That is, they have tried to understand: 1) what are the general propositions of culture? 2) what do all men share with each other?

At times Anthropologists virtually despaired of ever arriving at any firm list of cultural universals. During the 1930s, cultural relativists were so extreme that they argued it was impossible ever to interpret one culture to members of another culture. They held that within any cultural system there was a perfect logic understandable only in terms of that system, and unintelligible in any other system. From an academic point of view this might be true, although few Anthropologists today hold such an extreme position. Ironically, the very men who argued that point had long experiences in the field, living cross-culturally and relating to people of other cultural backgrounds; their lives often belied their own scientific positions.

Gradually, cultural relativism has become a useful device for scientists and for any intercultural worker willing to adopt it. Stated simply, it

means that before one can understand the background against which another man operates, we must accept the fact that his values, beliefs and actions are as real and valid an expression of the human condition as our own. In other words, we cannot place moral value on the customs of another people and then hope to understand them. This is simply extending the objectivity of science into the human sciences. Certainly a Geologist doesn't condemn coal shale as immoral, while praising granite as moral; nor does an Astronomer consider Mars good and Venus bad. Nor can the cultural scientist or inter-cultural worker consider specific cultures or customs either good or bad, and then expect to understand the people who practice them.

By now there has developed a view that there are cultural universals, not in terms of specific customs* but in terms of general human responses. That is, all men tend to react very much the same way under the same environmental, historical and technical conditions. "Save for the grace of time and place, go I," should be the motto of any intercultural worker.

The modern cultural sciences accept the idea of the psychic unity of mankind. Meaning, that man shares not only a generally similar physical shape, but an even more similar psychic shape. If this were not the case -- i.e., if there was a distinct psychological pattern for each place or culture -- then the chances of reaching intercultural understanding would be remote. Unfortunately, however, the fact that we have the same general psychological structure does not mean that "all people are the same."

(*) An exception to this is the avoidance of sexual intercourse between parents and children.

People from different cultures react quite differently.* They view reality differently, and assess individuals differently; they have, to use an old phrase, different world views. That term has gone somewhat out of fashion in Anthropology, having been replaced with the less humanistic sounding term, "cognitive systems." People from different cultures, a modern Anthropologist will say, have different cognitive systems.

Now, what does that mean in terms of preparing people for service in Japan or Korea...or the New York ghetto...or an Indian reservation... or a city planning office in Nebraska? Essentially what we are saying is that the society into which an individual is born provides him with a map of the universe which serves to guide his actions vis-a-vis his environment and the people with whom he comes in contact during his life. This map is revealed through research to be a classificatory system which allows him to identify not only his material environment, but various social situations, as being one thing or another. To use a simple example: various substances are considered either food or not food. If it's food, it can be eaten; if not, it can't. Substances classified as food are subdivided into various other cultural categories, but the essential dichotomy remains.

For a person living his whole life within the culture of his birth, the cognitive map or classification system he learns is good enough. It is shared with the other people he meets, and guides him and others in

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(*) An illustration of culture being an important variable even in mental illness is to be found in Enright and Jaeckle.

their relations. If, however, he moves into another culture, he finds to one degree or another that the categories he has learned are no longer relevant. Thus, food is still a category because all men must eat. But what substances are considered food is a question whose answer is subject to dramatic change. Take dog meat, which is perfectly digestible, and if properly prepared can be quite palatable. But in the United States, dog meat is simply not food. In the Philippines and a number of other places, it is food. A plate of dog meat properly identified may well make an American sick. So, perhaps, will shrimp larvae, pickled crickets, or even raw fish. The fact that a person can become ill on perfectly good food makes the point of how completely culture dominates our behavior patterns.

The example of food is extremely simple, but virtually every aspect of behavior can be similarly categorized. Take a somewhat more complex example. On a recent trip to Korea, I stopped on my way to the Peace Corps office one morning to have a cup of coffee in a coffee shop. Now, in America a coffee shop is a category of food-dispensing store; we know what in general to expect of it in terms of service, menu and price. The coffee shop I went to in Korea fulfilled virtually none of my expectations. I received first a cup of hot barley water...which I didn't know what to do with. Then I was presented with a raw egg and one-half cup of very strong coffee. Very few of the responses which I, as an American, knew for coffee-shop behavior were relevant to Korean coffee-shop behavior. Fortunately, the shop was full, and I could watch what the Korean customers did, and by following suit (though raw eggs in

the morning are not really my thing) get through the experience. This was only one element in learning what a coffee shop was in Korea -- and only a fragmentary lesson in learning the Korean categories of life.

The other way to look at my experience, and one all too often adopted by foreigners in a foreign land, is to say something to the effect, "Koreans are sure crazy -- they don't even know what a coffee shop is." This implies, of course, that what a coffee shop is in America is the right, natural, reasonable model of coffee shops, and any variation therefrom is not right, not natural, not reasonable. Which of these approaches one takes will effect the way he relates to the people involved, and how he will decide what actions to take. It is difficult to deal on an equal basis with a man who, you have already decided, does things in the wrong, unnatural and unreasonable way. At best you can be patronizing; at worst, openly and unforgivably offensive. On the other hand, if one takes the position that Korean coffee shops (or government, or family life, or what have you) is something about which you know very little, but which you must learn about from those who already know, you have put yourself in a much more tenable position vis-a-vis the Koreans with whom you will be working.

The purpose of cross-cultural training for Peace Corps Volunteers, or bank presidents, or even the sophisticated tourist, should be to develop the second frame of mind. One which respects all cultures as expressions of the universal human experience, and which does not establish the American (or French, or Japanese, or Tongan) culture as the model against which all other cultures are measured. This is not in the least an easy task, and it is harder to live than to teach. The discovery that

one can, in Taegu, Korea, buy a reasonable breakfast of eggs and toast in one store, but must run down the block in order to have a cup of coffee, can shake the most rigid cultural relativistic resolve.

I use examples of such things as coffee shops, but the same principles exist in every intercultural interaction. It is simply more difficult to express in words when the situation is presented in its broadest scope: that is, when it involves two people with entirely different views of the world and man's place in it, entirely different views of the nature of life itself. Except perhaps for philosophers, seldom do two people engage in that kind of discourse. We ordinary people discover the assumptions of another culture through a multitude of daily interactions which, if our mind is properly prepared, begins to structure into a pattern which serves to guide our action in new situations with which we are not experienced. Because our real understanding of another culture comes in fragments, it is possible to prepare a systematic training procedure which prepares the trainee to look at each incident in his intercultural life in several different ways. In this paper I present such a system, based in large part on the common basic concepts in Anthropology...each concept providing a somewhat different vantage point from which to view intercultural situations. The final objective, of course, is for the trainee to enter service prepared to view each incident from these several points of view, and come to a conclusion about that incident.

It is sometimes argued that this is impossible, that human behavior is too egocentric and unstructured to be predictable. If that were true, none of us could survive for a single day, even in the culture of our own country. Culture, in fact, is the device whereby men can anticipate the

behavior of other men in a large degree. We do not have to analyze each encounter and each action of each day. Rather, we know what to expect, within limits, when we enter a restaurant, go into a store, ask a young lady for a date, or tell our wives we will be late for dinner. In the latter case, an American wife might be hurt, angry, disappointed, accepting, even glad that she doesn't have to prepare dinner. All of these represent acceptable (no matter how uncomfortable) responses, predictable responses. If, instead, she took off her clothes and ran shrieking into the street -- or locked herself in her room for a week -- or tried to kill you -- or painted the house bright green -- you would not need a marriage counselor to tell you that something was amiss.*

The objectives of Cross-Cultural Training are to prepare a Peace Corps Volunteer (or anyone else) who can begin on his own to find out what the acceptable and predictable responses are in another system. The program suggested here is presented in terms of a series of interim objectives, all of which lead, hopefully, to the final objective by increments of cultural expansion.

About the Exercises

The first objective is a direct attack on Ethnocentrism,** and is designed to illustrate the fact that alternative solutions to problems are often equally plausible and equally useful.

(*) In certain cultures a woman might indeed protest her husband's behavior in extreme cases by taking off her clothes in public.

(**) Ethnocentrism means judging all cultures by the standards of your culture. It should not be confused with Egocentrism or simple pig-headedness. A person who accepts the standards of another culture can be as obdurate as if he is operating in his own culture.

The first step is an abstract demonstration exercise in which the experience is created to serve as a basis for discussion of alternative possibilities, and extended to make the point that different cultures often can be looked at as differing sets of equally plausible alternatives. We then progress to exercises rooted in actual cultural experience.

The secondary objective is to teach the trainee once again to open his eyes to all possible relevant details...to recognize that the categories of relevance taught to him as an American are not valid when dealing, let us say, with a Japanese and Korean card game. If he is to learn the game, he must learn the new categories of relevance. In addition, watching a game being played without previously knowing the rules is a microcosmic example of learning a new culture by experience and observation.

The final exercise in the series is designed to put the trainee in an actual cultural experience without structure, in order to see if the previous controlled experiences have helped him open his eyes to possible new relevancies and/or differences. The recognition of differences, of course, forces the trainee to think of his own culture, as well as of that of the new situation.

EXERCISE I

PLAUSIBLE ALTERNATIVE GAMES AND EXERCISES

To accept cultural differences as reasonable and plausible solutions to universal problems.

EXERCISE 1A

ALTERNATIVE CATEGORIES DEMONSTRATION

Suggested by William Brenneman*

(This demonstration is directed toward illustrating)
(the fact that there may be in any given instance)
(reasonable alternative ways of doing things. The)
(difference shown here will, of course, be an indi-)
(vidual difference -- but the discussions which)
(follow can point up the fact that cultures are)
(much the same way.

MATERIALS: A number of objects (at least 20) of different shape, size and color; one large table.

DEMONSTRATORS: Two or more, working in series.

PROCEDURES: Each demonstrator will be introduced to the objects laid out on the table, and instructed to arrange them in a meaningful way. The demonstrator is not to speak or explain his arrangement, but simply set out to do it, and having done it, leave.

Before each demonstration, the objects are randomized. Trainees are asked:

1) to note what the principle behind each arrangement is;
2) to say whether they agree or disagree with that arrangement.

After all of the demonstrations have been completed, the demonstrators are called back into the room to explain what they had in mind. In the group-discussion which follows, trainees will be encouraged to discuss the comparative merits of each arrangement, and whether they consider certain ones suitable for different purposes.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: To make sure that the idea of cultural differences paralleling individual differences are made explicit.

(*) Acknowledgement does not suggest that a given exercise was invented by a specific individual, but rather that it was developed and its usefulness demonstrated in training programs by that individual.

EXERCISE 1B

SAKURA CARD GAME*

(This exercise is aimed at illustrating cultural)
(differences from an actual cultural context, and)
(to sensitize them to detailed observations,)
(thereby seeking relevance in the cultural context)
(in which they find themselves.)

MATERIALS: A deck of Sakura cards.

DEMONSTRATORS: Four.

PROCEDURES: Small groups of trainees are required to watch without asking questions as the demonstrators play a game of Sakura at a regular pace of approximately 30 minutes.

At the end of the demonstration, the trainees are given the deck and asked to arrange it in suits, explaining why they place various cards in the same suit. They are then asked to try to play the game which they saw demonstrated, proceeding on their own hypothesis of the rules as constructed from their observations. Next they are asked to formulate a number of questions they need answered about the game, in order to play it more expertly. At this point, one or more demonstrators may be brought in to act as informants.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: To make sure that trainees understand what aspects of the game are judged relevant by Japanese and/or Korean culture, and to point out the process of observation analysis and experimentation in learning to play Sakura -- and comparing this to the broader business of learning a culture.

FINALE: Once they have learned the game, trainees can be asked to role-play Sakura, i.e., play it the way they saw it played by the demonstrators.

(*) The rules of this game or the Filipino game (see Exercise 3A) are not given because of space limitations. If someone who knows these games is not available, other games should be substituted.

EXERCISE 1C

ROLE-PLAYING CRITIQUE

(This demonstration should further encourage)
(the trainee to analyze observed behavior in)
(a cultural context, i.e., attempt force)
(field analysis; it should also help develop)
(his sensitivity to the fact that behavior)
(in all cultures is patterned and to a degree)
(predictable.)

MATERIALS: Video-tape, cameras, monitor.

DEMONSTRATORS: Two or more.

PROCEDURES: The demonstrators, preferably of two different ethnic backgrounds, should act out a short vignette (not more than 15 minutes) wherein a problem is presented for solution and two alternatives are offered:

1) an American alternative;
2) a Host Country alternative.

The playlet should come to a conclusion with one or the other of the alternatives being selected.

Afterwards the trainees should be asked to discuss the merits of the alternatives...why they feel the actors took the position they did...something about the status and cultural position of the actors, etc. They should be able to demonstrate with words and action the specific features of the playlet which support their specific contentions.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: To encourage, clarify, discuss, etc., besides raising points which trainees appear to have missed or not elaborated.

EXERCISE 1D

OBSERVATION EXERCISE

(This exercise, when presented after the other three, will be useful in developing actual observational skills in on-going cultural situations.)

MATERIALS: None.

DEMONSTRATORS: None.

PROCEDURES: Trainees should be sent into the local community, preferably in pairs, and when possible for an entire afternoon. Their instructions should be to look at the community in terms of identifying differences, either major or minor, between the local community and any other community with which they have had experience.

Upon returning, they should be asked to discuss these differences in the following terms:

1) what are they?
2) why do you think they have developed?
3) do they solve the same problem as the other culture alternative?
4) how much more would we have to know to really answer these questions?

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: To encourage discussion; to reveal strengths and weaknesses in observation; to know the community well enough to bring up differences not noted by trainees; to introduce formally the idea of form and function.*

(*) cf Linton, Ralph, The Study of Man

EXERCISE 2

INFORMATION GATHERING

- To provide opportunity for the trainee to observe actual cultural situations, with the object of learning as much about a community as possible.
- To point out the relevance of things one sees, and demonstrate how seemingly unimportant things can be used as a basis for speculation about the nature of the community.

EXERCISE 2A

NO QUESTIONS ASKED

(This demonstration exercise is suggested)
(as a means of getting trainees to abandon)
(their previously learned categories of)
(relevance, and see all of their surroundings)
(as possibly offering clues to the nature)
(of the situation in which they find)
(themselves.)

MATERIALS: None, save perhaps a notebook for each trainee.

PROCEDURES: Trainees should be sent into the community for at least one afternoon with instructions to learn as much about it as possible without asking direct questions -- preferably without asking questions at all.

This should be followed by group discussions, large or small, in which the trainer asks specific questions about the community.

COMMENT: This is a free-form exercise and difficult to control. It requires that the trainer have a good knowledge of the community and be alert to any errors in observation. Sample questions:

1) What is the religious makeup of the community?
2) What are some of the things people do for entertainment?
3) Are there ethnic differences in entertainment activities?
4) What volunteer or service organizations are there?
5) Where do these clubs meet?
6) Describe something of the economic structure of the town.
7) Where would you go to buy
   furniture
   liquor
   clothing
   a screwdriver
   saimin
   beef stew
8) What forms of public transportation are there?
9) What strikes you as distinctly American?
10) What strikes you as distinctly non-American?

EXERCISE 2B

ASKING QUESTIONS

(This is an elaboration of Exercise 2A)
(and enables the trainee to expand his)
(ability to collect information by asking)
(questions as well as observing.)

MATERIALS: None, save perhaps a notebook for each trainee.

PROCEDURES: This should not be done in a single day; rather, trainees should be encouraged to go into the community on each of several days and evenings (perhaps a weekend, as well) and begin to involve themselves in activities which bring them in contact with local people.

Once or twice during this exercise trainees should be assembled for group discussions, in order to elaborate on the observations made in Exercise 2A. Trainers should encourage detailed description of the observed and learned evidence. Emphasis should be placed on the importance of listening to what people say to you and to each other.

COMMENT: Sample questions for the group discussions:

1) What districts or areas in this community are particularly relevant to the local people?
2) Is the local cultural geography the same as the official map geography?
3) Going north of town, what is the first place you come to?
4) Going south of town, what is the first place you come to?
5) How do local people describe directions?
6) Demonstrate how two local people greet each other.
7) In greeting procedures, are there differences arising from ethnic origin, age, etc.?
8) Characterize the general impression you have of the people, and support with evidence.
9) How are these people the same/different as to Mainland Americans?
10) How do you know if a resident is Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, etc.?

11) Where are the government offices?
12) Who is the Mayor/what is he mayor of?
13) What is unique about Colonel Sanders Chicken Shack?
14) Do people seem informed about:
local political affairs?
national?
international?
15) What can you say about familial behavior patterns?
16) Can you demonstrate how teenage boys and girls interact in public?
17) What is the major objection people here have to hippies?
18) Look at the menu at Cafe 100 and discuss it in terms of the ethnic history of the island (also Tex Drive Inn in Honokaa, etc.)
19) Where do most of the ethnic Hawaiians live?
20) What does the Hawaiian state flag look like, and why?

These questions in no way exhaust the possibilities. The trainer must be alert to follow the openings provided in the discussion, rather than adhere to this or any other list. What this list does, essentially, is help the trainer keep the discussion open.

The major effort here is to encourage the trainee to draw on his total experience in the community as a guide to his actions in relation to the community. Trainers should be alert for ethnocentric judgments (i.e., they seemed more intelligent because their kids were all in college) and for pre-judgments (i.e., the assumption that the racial situation locally parallels that on the mainland). The trainer must be ready to point out these errors quickly and forcefully (avoiding, if possible ad hominum comments, but at the same time not skipping over important issues simply to avoid embarrassment).

PERSONAL AWARENESS:

In this exercise the trainer should also encourage the trainee to examine his own responses to the new situation: how did he feel having a Japanese dentist...what does he think of a government almost entirely operated by non-whites...how does he respond to the style and condition of housing...style of dress...to people smiling at him frequently...to being called over by groups of men or boys to talk?

These responses must be analyzed in terms of how an American is apt to respond to "personal" questions, etc.

EXERCISE 3

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS

It is important to convey to the trainee through experience that human behavior is not random and idiosyncratic, but that it is to a large degree

- systematic
- patterned
- predictable.

In short, there are natural laws of social and cultural behavior, no less amenable to understanding than those revealed in the so-called hard sciences.

EXERCISE 3A

THE FILIPINO GAME

Suggested by Sylvia Dann

(This demonstrates the principle of)
(reciprocity and social investment.)
(It also performs another function)
(in its home context: that of)
(constantly reminding the members)
(of such a traditional society how)
(things should be done.)

MATERIALS: Enough game boards and playing pieces to provide one set for each pair of players.

DEMONSTRATORS: A single instructor to explain the rules and supervise play.

PROCEDURES: Have the trainees play the game several times, until they understand the rules and can play skillfully.

Discuss the game in terms of reciprocal social investment. Make the point that while Americans tend to shy away from recognizing this pattern, we do it, too: Christmas Cards and presents being an important example. (Dear Abby and Ann Landers regularly have questions about the propriety of giving and receiving gifts, etc.) Ask the trainees to provide other examples from their own experience. Encourage them to voice their feelings about this kind of behavior...American pattern. Relate such behavior to the interdependence of men, particularly where governmental and quasi-governmental institutions for social security do not exist, or are inefficient. Read feedback incidents from PCVs who have encountered and failed to understand this principle.

In Philippines use example of compadre system; in other countries use other relevant examples.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: Coordinator should at least have read Mauss* and be equipped with enough personal experience or ethnographic examples to support the discussion, and prove the universality of this principle.

(*) Mauss, Marcell, The Gift.

EXERCISE 3B

THE STATUS GAME

(To demonstrate the proposition that)
(social status is not an abstract,)
(and that it is made evident by day-)
(to-day behavior.)

MATERIALS: None needed, though taping might be advisable for playback and analysis.

DEMONSTRATORS: The trainer.

PROCEDURES: Have individual trainees role-play the following encounters:

1) facing a judge in traffic court for having run a red light;
2) asking a professor for an extension on a term paper;
3) ordering a hamburger in a small restaurant;
4) ordering a complete dinner with wine in a large restaurant;
5) having one's shoes shined;
6) meeting the Governor at an official function.

These role-plays should be done rather completely. The trainee should be asked what preparatory steps he would take for the encounter, i.e., clothes, grooming, etc. The trainer should be prepared to supply details of background and setting if requested.

Each role-play should be discussed and analyzed in terms of what behavioral changes the trainee displayed. Each trainee should do at least two of the encounters.

Host Country Nationals could be interjected into the discussion to provide contrasting opinions, or they could be taped in similar role-plays for the trainees to watch for contrast to their own behavior.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: Should be familiar with the chapter on status and role in Linton.*

(*) Linton, Ralph, The Study of Man.

EXERCISE 3C

THE SYMBOL GAME

(To demonstrate graphically)
(how we use symbols to shape)
(our environment.)

MATERIALS: Various, as selected.

DEMONSTRATORS: The trainer.

PROCEDURES: Display a collection of symbols, from stop signs, PEACE signs, eagles, etc., to symbols from other cultures. Trainees should then be asked to tell what they mean. If they fail to identify those from other cultures, the trainer should explain them fully.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: The discussion which follows should focus on the arbitrary nature of the symbol: why was this particular symbol chosen? why is a V sign indicative of Peace, though conceived in war? what symbols besides long hair no longer denote what they formerly did?

Various words can be picked and repeated by the group to demonstrate that the sounds we use are simply symbols which have no natural or intrinsic meaning, but to which we have given fixed meaning.

Trainees might respond with unusual interest to the question of how they know a person is male or female; it should reveal to them that much of what they accept as natural is in fact arbitrary and symbolic.

EXERCISE 3D

THE MISTAKEN STEREOTYPE

Developed by William Brenneman

(To illustrate that (1) it is difficult)
(if not impossible to make accurate)
(determination of race or nationality)
(based on physical characteristics alone,)
(and that our picture of such and such)
(a race or nationality is a stereotype;)
(and (2) that we generally rely on)
(cultural clues to determine race or)
(nationality, though we often do not)
(realize it.)

MATERIALS: None.

DEMONSTRATORS: One (described below).

PROCEDURES: A person who can act like, or who appears to be, of one racial or ethnic stock is invited to speak to the trainees on some subject. The specific country or race of the person is not mentioned in the introduction.

After the speech, the trainer should ask if the trainees can identify the person's origin. When they have made their guesses, the truth should be told -- and the discussion directed to an exploration of why the guesses were made, i.e., what Americans think that Indians, Chinese, etc., should look like...and in what ways this person varied from the stereotype.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: To properly introduce the demonstrator, and lead the discussion quickly toward the objectives. The trainer should be wary of trainees arguing that they have been manipulated. They have not.

EXERCISE 3E

THE OCCUPATION STEREOTYPE

Suggested by Stuart Kearns

(To illustrate to young Americans how ingrained)
(certain attitudes about race and ethnic back-)
(ground are in our culture, and how culture can)
(force one to make judgments which are against)
(his or her individual desires.)

MATERIALS: Worksheets described below.

DEMONSTRATORS: None.

PROCEDURES: A worksheet containing a list of occupations is handed to the trainee. A sample list:

jockey	banker	bootblack
Army officer	laundress	hippie
professor	pullman porter	airline pilot
airline stewardess		
itinerant harvest-worker		
service-station attendant (in Alabama)		

The trainee should be asked to indicate the race, sex, years of education of each occupation. In addition, he should be presented with a standard adjective test-sheet and asked to supply the three adjectives he thinks most appropriate to each occupation.

TRAINER RESPONSIBILITY: Many trainees will protest that while they do put down "black" as the race of a bootblack, they do it only because it is true -- not because they approve of it. The trainer should then point out that they have responded to a cultural pattern, not to their own judgment, and ask why such answers are true. In all probability the trainees will also answer "male" for banker or airline pilot, etc.; the basis for these judgments should be discussed in order to illustrate how patterns of occupations are determined by cultural attitudes about age, sex, race, etc., and to what extent they are participants in these cultural patterns.

TRAINER'S NOTES

The role of Trainer in these exercises is to induce discussion, guiding it toward the revelation or discovery of the principles and objectives that have been set forth. He should not, however, come to believe too rigidly in the proposition that trainees will -- in a limited time with a limited number of exercises and the diversions of technical and language training -- always make a "discovery" without assistance. Quite the contrary, in my experience. The principles which we wish to illustrate are so obvious and pervasive that oftentimes they are not seen by trainees, particularly those used to "psyching out" professors. Trainers must then be able to make the point, as unobtrusively as possible -- but better obtrusively than not at all!

Trainees will sometimes be disgruntled and say in effect, "If you had told us that in the first place, we would have seen it." That may be, and the Trainer may wish to provide pre-exercise briefings or lectures. He may, according to his style or that of the training group, wait until after the exercise to make his point; discovery of patterns is a two-way street, and the Trainer should not assume every group is identical.

On occasion trainees are surprised and quite in awe at what the Trainer has seen or knows that they don't. In such cases they often excuse themselves by saying, "Well, I could have done that if I were an Anthropologist (or Psychologist, or had lived overseas for two years)." That may be ego-gratifying for the Trainer, but it is counterproductive if he smiles archly and allows that impression to stand.

The point is that the trainee is fully capable of seeing and doing these things for himself.

Observational Skills

Culture, while expanding the potential of the human species, often appears at least to limit the scope of the individual: learning one's own culture, along the road from infancy to adulthood, is a matter of isolating those aspects of daily experience which are relevant to the cultural categories of one's society.

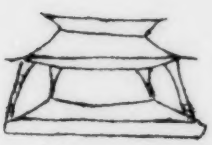
A case in point is the Washo Indians of Nevada and California, who were often reported on in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as despised and demoralized scavengers, subsisting in large part by begging, picking through town dumps and garbage heaps, wearing cast-off clothing, etc. Talk to an older Washo, however, and the period takes on the glow of a Golden Age.* It was a time of plenty, game was still abundant, game laws did not effectively restrict hunting and fishing, white settlements had not impinged on much of their traditional range, and the appearance of the white man had opened up many new opportunities. To Washo hunters and gatherers, even a town dump was a treasure trove...begging from white people or selling wildcat meat to Chinese railway workers provided wonderful alternatives to the semi-starvation of winter...clearing land for ridiculously low fees was to them a fantastic opportunity to earn money by doing what they would have done anyway, i.e., collect wood for the cold weather.

Another way to examine this proposition is to think of children who constantly see things that adults no longer notice. Our adult "service" to them is to tell them constantly which of the things they see and comment on is relevant to their lives, as defined by our culture. By the time they are adults, they have, in most cases, simply stopped seeing the "irrelevant" things. To enter another culture is to find yourself in a situation where

(*) Downs, James F., The Two Worlds of the Washo.

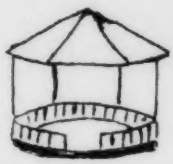
the instructions on relevancy received in childhood are no longer valid; you must begin to see as a child again; you must be instructed as to the patterns of relevancy of that culture. The alternative is to see the phenomena of the new culture -- but classify it according to the categories of your original culture. An example of this is demonstrated in virtually every Peace Corps training program in Hawaii: it is the case of the sumo ring.

Prominent in one of Hilo's parks is a structure that looks much like a picnic pavilion...or, as Hawaiian usage has it, a lanai...perhaps a bandstand. At some point in the program trainers usually ask if trainees have seen this structure. Sure they have. "What is it?" they are then asked. The answers are predictable: pavilion, lanai, bandstand, what have you. But they're wrong, for this structure is built in an absolutely unique way:



ACTUAL

PAVILION



BANDSTAND

Trainees are usually amazed, if not embarrassed, when told that it is the ring for local sumo contests (Japanese wrestling). Once this is pointed out, trainees can usually see how different it is from the other types of structure. What has happened is that mentally the viewer has changed the structure to fit the preconceived categories of structures found in parks. Ignoring the differences, he has chosen the most likely explanation provided by his culture.

What if, in his ignorance, he had set up a picnic under its roof? At best he would have seemed ridiculous, at worst highly offensive.

Form and Function

One of the stumbling blocks to cultural understanding is that men often do things in different cultures which appear to be the same. All too often the form of an artifact or custom or practice turns out to be the same, but its place within the context of that culture, i.e., its function, is not.

An axe, for instance, is a tool in America; it cuts wood and does a number of other useful jobs. We know the place of the axe in our system. Among many groups of Australian aborigines, the axe is also a tool, but it is something else as well. Axes being hard to come by, they are usually limited one to a family, and remain in the possession of the father. In fact, the axe becomes the symbol of his authority, and other members of the family who need the axe must come to him and ask for it, thereby constantly demonstrating his position as leader and director of family affairs. The social structure of one such tribe was virtually destroyed by an ill-advised attempt to introduce easily obtainable axes.* Lest we think this is too remote and exotic an example, ask yourself what would happen if we substituted American for Australian, and automobile for axe?

The usefulness of the form-function concept is not limited to material culture. Social forms, customary practices, political forms -- anything at all may have some different functions in a society. A sensitivity to the fact that things which look similar, or even identical, may not be the same thing in two different cultural contexts is essential for really successful work in the intercultural situation. Trainers should by all means read Ralph Linton (op cit) on this subject.

(*) Sharpe, Luristan, "Stone Axes for Steel," in Spicer, Human Problems and Technological Change.

Guiding the trainee to the discovery of Form and Function through experience is a difficult problem, and one for which I, at least, do not have neatly planned exercises. I suggest here a number of possible ways to arrive at the objective; all of them may work some of the time for some people. The basic issue is that the Trainer himself be alert and sensitive to these concepts, and able to suggest examples from daily experience.

For instance, most training groups will usually develop a special symbolic system of their own which has little meaning outside the group. Not infrequently they will seize upon events or material objects as symbolic of certain group patterns, i.e., in jokes, solidarity in the face of outsiders, etc. By pointing out how they use these things, one begins to illustrate the concept. Regular volleyball games may simply be sporting activities for recreation and physical fitness, or they may become the focus of a subtle form of competition between staff and trainees, thereby placing the trainees on an equal basis. Volleyball thus serves a special function without altering its form.

Trips to a local museum may provide an opportunity to point out artifacts of different cultures which, different as they may seem, served much the same function in that culture as some other object does in ours. Or the obverse may be true: an artifact which looks much the same as something we have has an entirely different place in our society.

Possibly a reading assignment -- say, the article on axes by Sharpe (op cit) -- can be given. The trainee could then be asked to consider American society and make a simple word replacement in the article, using American material and social culture. This might lead the trainee to examine his own culture more closely, and in so doing reveal these useful concepts to him.

Even in the interest of maintaining the principle of experiential learning, one should not ignore the value of a good and interesting lecturer. Such a person can draw, from the previous life-experience of the trainees, illustrative material with which to nail down his point. The net result of this is to expand experiential learning, not abandon it.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The foregoing exercises are, I believe, useful in freeing the trainee-mind from the cultural restrictions which have been placed on him in his life before coming to training. They provide concrete and more or less controllable situations and experiences which can be made the basis of exploration...exploration of ideas and attitudes about American culture and culture in general. It should be emphasized that the process of discovery of these concepts and attitudes, while based on a Second Culture experience, is in fact one of examining one's own reactions and judgments, i.e., American culture. Thus, one of the goals of these and similar exercises is to force the trainee to look at himself as a product of American culture, and look at American culture itself as a product different only in degree from any other cultural expression.

Although young Americans react very violently when told this, they are, as much or more than any other generation ever produced, ethnocentric and culturally imperialistic to the highest degree. While they may be very critical of American cultural patterns and American foreign policy, they believe, almost to a man, in the ability of Americans to influence anything and anybody in the world. Their view is that this powerful culture should exercise its power only for good...that is, policy should be changed. As much as the most dyed-in-the wool colonialist, they do not question our ability to do this. Perhaps nothing is as difficult for them to accept as the idea that America and Americans -- of whatever political or philosophical persuasion -- are as much chips in the current of history as the tiniest and most backward nation. Nor do they really

believe that development changes for better or worse will not come about unless the people of the recipient culture decide that they want to make those changes.

In my opinion, much of the demoralization of Peace Corps Volunteers overseas is based on the discovery that Indian villagers have their own opinions, and Korean government officials insist on exercising their own authority, quite without regard to the opinions of the well-meaning, obviously liberal, perhaps even a bit revolutionary American in their midst. Of course, anyone with a proper understanding of the cultural phenomenon will be able to cope with this realization, but a person who is not so prepared will find himself in trouble.

The question then is, how can we convey this realization to the trainee? The preceding exercises are a help in starting the process, but it is doubtful that any number of contrived exercises can effect the change of attitude we are seeking. Actual exposure to culture, consciously seen as culture, is the only way one will really learn about culture.

There have been many attempts in Peace Corps training to include cultural exposures of one kind or another. As noted in my previous trends article (op cit), much of the Community Involvement work which has been done in Peace Corps has been predicated on the idea that trainees should be placed in situations approximating those they will deal with on assignment. I do not believe this is true, nor is it possible. In a sense, it is like assuming that a recruit can be trained more effectively on the battlefield, or on a simulated battlefield with live ammunition and real shells exploding, and real dead men being carried away. Throughout history, the behavior of untrained volunteer troops thrown desperately

into battle has shown that this is not true. It is no different for those who advance into the lonely battle for peace, struggling with the problem of a new and different culture. The criteria for planning Community Involvement should not be how much like the assignment it is, but rather, how different from the trainee's previous experience is it?

This, among other things, broadens the possibilities for Community Involvement activities. The community need not be linguistically or culturally the same as the one to which the trainee will be sent; it need only be different from anything he has known. In some cases the difference will not be marked. All training facilities are not conveniently located near Indian reservations or the Mexican border or in Hawaii, or even near a ghetto (that current catch-all of American do-goodism). Any of these situations can be useful, but we must remember that for the average urban and suburban American college-student, white rural America is a different culture -- even if the inhabitants are not black, not poor, not really in need of "help." We should remember, too, that the trainee has, for the most part, been isolated in that peculiar world called Education for at least 20 years. The real world of his own hometown, with its Elks Club and skidrow and country club, may well be as foreign to him as Singapore.

I have been surprised and shocked at the relative ignorance of most trainees about the actual power-structure of their own hometown -- which, of course, they left after high school in order to attend college. Most present-day Peace Corps trainees have never belonged to, and in most cases never attended a service-club meeting...have never been in a police station (or known a policeman)...have neither been members of nor attended meetings of a union, chamber of commerce, or what have you. College has taught

them a number of shibboleths, cliches and generalities about the power-elite and power-structure and establishment, but in fact they have no idea that a part of the power-elite, on the local level at least, may be the local realtor, or the manager of the local factory, or the president of the local college. They have little idea how local decisions are made. Without that kind of knowledge, without having seen something of how local society works -- whether theirs, the Hawaiians, the Navajo Indians, or what have you -- they will be ill suited to understand the myun in Korea or the barrio in the Philippines.

So even a normal American hometown or city can be used as a base for Community Involvement exercises if, during such a training period, the trainee is properly prepared and properly supported. On the other hand, Community Involvement may be of no benefit whatever, even if conducted in the country of assignment, if it is improperly planned, if the trainee is unprepared for it, if he is not properly supported during this period.

In the past, experience within communities has certainly not been ignored in Peace Corps training. However, it has seldom been planned properly or supported adequately. In essence, trainers have appeared to believe that there was something in the air which, if breathed deeply, would imbue the trainee with cross-cultural sensitivity. Much the same attitude seems to be part of much of the thinking which supports total in-country training. One outstanding fact must be remembered about exposure to a new community: simple exposure, no matter for how long, cannot be guaranteed to develop the attitudes and skills and understanding needed in a good or even minimally adequate Volunteer. Often quite the opposite is true, and community exposure can become counter-productive and actually prevent further learning.

The first factor in considering Community Involvement work is to think about the phrase itself. The issue is community. And for all too many such events, the actual focus is a family. We are really talking about family live-ins. I have written about this before,* and am even more convinced than I was at that time that living with a family as a first and primary focus of training in this country or in-country is almost totally counter-productive.

Living with a family, even when sharing cultural values, is not easy. Adjustments for both host and guest have to be made. Add to this the complications which develop when the outsider is totally unprepared for the different cultural patterns of the family, and said family is not at all sure what the outsider expects. In short, the problems in this situation are so complex -- particularly if language differences or vast social distance, or both, exist -- that the live-in becomes, not a matter of learning, but a matter of survival.

The trainee thrust into this foreign situation without proper preparation must come to some modus vivendi with "his family." Having attained that balance and developed a rhythm of co-existence, no matter how different from their normal lives or his, he has a right to expect, because the training institution created the situation in the first place, that he has learned something...that he has survived and become expert cross-culturally. Once having decided this, he becomes a difficult student, one who questions why he should do anything more.

(*) trends, op cit.; Wight, et al., pages 95-6.

My own investigations have satisfied me that, in fact, he tends to retreat into the protection of the family. He will use kinship terms and speak of "my mother" or "my father," but not know that the "father" is having an affair with the neighbor's wife, or where the men gather to discuss politics, or any number of other facts of extreme importance in understanding his community. Nor will he really understand the obligations a "son" should have toward a "father."

It may well be that the family will consciously protect him from the community; his presence may confer prestige upon them, or it may subject them to criticism which they must counter by one means or another. Not infrequently the trainee is, knowingly or not, occupying the bed of one of the members of the family. Even if he is trying hard to conform and adjust, his likes and dislikes become clear...his responses to such things as lack of privacy or a casual attitude about private property either are made clear, or repressed and turned into anger -- anger at himself, his host and their culture, or the Peace Corps, or the training institution. In a nutshell, the family live-in approach provides too much of a foreign culture too soon. To survive this exposure, the trainee turns off his learning apparatus and turns on his survival apparatus. But having survived, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convince the trainee that he has anything more to learn about living in another culture. The living may be an important personal and emotional experience, but it is simply, in my opinion, not an efficient learning experience.

All the more so because the family live-in is seldom used as a basis for detailed and somewhat objective examination of what goes on in the family as a means of attaining greater understanding. I have previously

suggested that it might be difficult to encourage host families to talk about their trainee guests; at that time I did not anticipate what appears to be the major problem: the difficulty of encouraging trainees to talk about their hosts or about their own experience. This is, to one degree or another, an existential generation, a generation quite concerned with privatism and exploitation. Many of its members have an almost masochistic urge to become exploiters, so that they can reject the role. Thus, Community Involvement exercises often come a cropper on the question, "Aren't we exploiting these people?" But more about that a bit later.

Another attitude commonly revealed is, "Why talk about living with the family? After all, we're doing it. What more is there to say?" Given the intimate contact with a specific family as an agent or representative of the target-culture, this attitude is virtually unassailable, and thus much of the learning-potential of the family live-in is lost. Except perhaps for very brief periods and for very specific reasons (i.e., programs which may require detailed understanding of familial patterns, cooking, child raising, etc.) the family live-in does not seem to offer the best solution to the training problem. This statement is made with the knowledge that it strikes some very deeply and emotionally held attitudes, Peace Corps and elsewhere. The idea that men can become brothers by close association is one which dies slowly and is constantly reinforced by student-exchange programs and the like. It seems, however, that history proves differently. Intimate association can produce resentment, contempt and hostility in a very high degree. Student-exchange programs have never, it would appear, reduced the willingness of those very students to go to war against each other. And, as a matter of

fact, in many cultures -- our own included -- one is most likely to be murdered by a close relative, even a spouse.

The horror stories about unsuccessful live-ins, whether in training or on Peace Corps assignment, are too numerous to detail here. However, they are also too numerous to ignore. Accordingly, I suggest the following alternatives to the community live-in.

Nuclear Housing

In a training program where time is available, Community Involvement can best be achieved, I believe, by trying to put the trainee in a role which most nearly approximates that of the regular resident of the target-community. Most communities consist mainly of adults, working and maintaining homes. Thus, trainees should be put in as close approximation to that role as possible. In many cases this is not too difficult to achieve. Technical and language-training demands can be met by regular, perhaps even daily attendance at some central site; in effect, the trainee "goes to work" just like his neighbors. Trainees should be required to meet the challenges of getting utilities turned on, if that is necessary, and of finding out where to shop, dump garbage, etc. In other words, they must assume, as much as possible, the duties of a householder. To do this they should do as most newcomers do: establish contact with their neighbors, and find out from them the how and what and when of the community. In this way you establish the trainee as a neighbor, a clearly recognized social role in virtually every community, rather than creating a social anomaly of a full-grown man or woman living with a family to which they are not related.

The keys to successful Nuclear Housing exercises are:

1) Keep the trainee group small enough so that it does not dominate the neighborhood or provide a total environment for the timid trainee to hide in. More than six trainees per house is perhaps too many, although in Hawaii we have had several successful experiences with as many as 12 in a single group, if the community was large and diffuse enough.

2) Provide regular discussion and follow-up. At least twice a week, the Nuclear Group should be invaded by a member of the training staff, whose job it will be to encourage discussion about the community and what the trainee is learning.

The trainer should try to solicit information about population distribution, residence patterns, class structure, economics, cultural patterns, religion, etc. The fact that the trainees have been on the scene only a short time means that the trainer should not expect "correct" information; what he should expect is curiosity, attempts to gather information, attempts to analyze and speculate about the community, and a self-conscious examination of one's own reactions to the experience.

It is up to the trainer to relate the community experience to the eventual overseas assignment. Obviously, in most cases it is not possible to say, "It will be just like this in Korea (or Thailand, or Tonga)." However, whether in Korea or Thailand or Tonga, there will always be that first day in the community...there will always be the need to know details of daily life...there will always be men of great influence and men of lesser influence, and the Volunteer will have to identify them. In short, the experience can be used to project the trainee, in his own mind's eye, into the eventual field assignment and relate the two experiences. At the very least, his experience in training can help him develop confidence about his ability to approach strange and/or foreign people and initiate human contact.

Most trainees are very much afraid of this. They really doubt their ability to do it. Moreover, if the target-community is composed of dark-skinned people, the trainee carries with him all sorts of basic American expectations which inhibit him from trying to initiate contact.

The following quotation from an interview with a trainee makes this point, I think. Only to the degree that he was somewhat more analytical of his own reactions does this differ greatly from other experiences.

> "I was walking by this garage yesterday afternoon and a bunch of guys, Hawaiians I guess, were standing around, kind of working on a car. One of them looked up at me and said, 'Hey, you guy -- come here!' Man, I'm from Newark, New Jersey. If a bunch of dark guys said that to me there, I'd split fast. But I went over to them, and they just wanted to know who I was, and they asked a lot about the Peace Corps. They got out some beer and opened a bottle for me, and we spent the afternoon talking."

The lessons learned by that single trainee in that single incident could fill a volume. Suffice to say, he will never again be able to judge situations totally within the context of expectations developed in Newark, New Jersey. The value of the incident would have been far less, however, had the training program not included an opportunity to reflect on the incident, to organize it well enough to recount it, and to share it with others, who in turn discussed their own experiences which paralleled his. Together they were able to see that such things are not necessarily just personal adventures, but are perhaps patterned and shared by many, and subject to analysis and reuse in different contexts.

Modified Nuclear Housing

Time, housing availability, or training demands may preclude a two-week period for Nuclear Housing. Two weeks would seem to me optimum for this sort of exercise, but there are possible modifications. In Hawaii, groups of trainees have been housed in abandoned school buildings, old hotels, even a National Guard Armory, and have benefited from the resulting community exposure. One problem, of course, is an extreme housing shortage, and when such modifications are necessary, care must be given to carefully structuring the experience, so that the trainees are actually brought into association with local people.* In general, these modifications still require the regular appearance and participation of a training-staff member with each group, in order to stimulate reflection and analysis of the community experience.

Job-Specific Community Experience

Not infrequently, technical training requires rather extended and close contact with persons of a different cultural background. The most common example is practice-teaching, which demands a great deal of time and attention in any educational program. From the point of view of Cross-Cultural Training, practice-teaching can be made the focus of cross-cultural experiences without the necessity of programmed specific Community Involvement periods.

(*) Generally this has been handled by requiring some community-service activity to be carried out by the training groups during any Community Involvement. Because of the importance of this factor, it will be discussed separately.

The focus of the trainee's cross-cultural exercises should be the classroom and the school. The same kind of questions which can be asked of any population, or any social system, can be asked about a class:

- How do children respond to teachers?
- How do boys and girls interact?
- What is the normal distance for social discourse?
- Do people touch each other a lot, a little, not at all?

The questions are obvious and endless.*

For many trainees, the attempt to answer these questions will suggest the need to know something of the background of the students, outside the classroom. From these motivated trainees, the entire group can be encouraged to explore something of the community and home life from which the student springs. Once again, the trainer can help, in regular sessions, to make the connection between the need to understand the class and the culture from which it springs, and the need to understand the Host Country class and school and culture in which it is imbedded.

Other technical/cross-cultural experiences can be dealt with in the same way. Trainees in Hawaii have worked with county road crews, employees of cooperatives, on ranches and farms, and in numerous other situations where they came in daily and extended contact with local citizens whose life-style and world-view were quite different from their own. Each of these situations was made the basis for discussion and exploration.

Personal Involvement

At times the sheer numbers of a training group, or the demands of the technical component, preclude any formalized Community Involvement.

(*) Murdock, G. P., Outline of Cultural Materials, is highly recommended for those seeking suggestions as to the kinds of questions.

How then do we meet the stricture that culture must be learned from observing and interacting with culture? The best approach may be simply to formalize and intensify what should be happening in any program in any event. The individual trainee should be encouraged to become involved with local people in real situations. To do this, it is necessary to counteract the tendency for trainees to forget training when they have time off on week ends or holidays. In Hawaii, we often are fortunate to have several programs operating concurrently. In at least one such program there will be a rather formalized Community Involvement period. Other trainees, hearing of this, not infrequently demand that they, too, be given the advantage of such an experience. A candid explanation of the problems which preclude such a program should be the beginning of individual involvement. Then the training institution should be in a position to suggest a wide range of possible involvements which the individual can seek out for himself. The list in any community is endless -- from going to a local church, to drinking in local bars, to seeking out local chapters of organizations with which the trainee has past connections, to attending movies or sporting events, to taking lessons in music, the dance, Japanese fencing, or what have you, to finding service organizations which might be able to use casual volunteer help.

All of these provide possible points of entry into the local community. One such program had trainees providing casual and temporary relief for high school and elementary school teachers; it was enormously successful. The key to this sort of involvement is the trainer, who must be constantly alert to pick up any incident which seems useful in illustrating concepts and attitudes necessary for cross-cultural understanding, and exploit them.

The Job Assignment

For several reasons it seems less than totally efficient to simply place the trainee in a community with instructions to interact with the people there.

First, such an approach flies in the face of clear-cut patterns of American culture. Americans are job-oriented; they need a work-oriented excuse for being where they are, unless they are clearly involved in recreation. To ignore this fact about American trainees is as culturally insensitive as pointing one's foot at a Thai, or slapping a Korean Government Minister on the back and calling him "Kim, ol' buddy." Moreover, the trainee is preparing to be a Volunteer whose reason for being in a community will be job-oriented, and training is a good time to establish the pattern of learning, in order to do a job.

The second reason is that Peace Corps trainees, as noted earlier, are extremely and admirably sensitive to the charge of exploiting other people for their own benefit, without delivering something in return. In fact, in many rural and isolated communities the mere presence of strangers is reward enough for the people -- providing, as it does, a break in the monotony of life and new subjects for gossip and amazement. But few American trainees will easily accept that role. Nor does the fact that they are bringing a certain amount of money into the community impress trainees. That tends to smack of "economic imperialism." Therefore, to ease the trainee's conscience and gain his cooperation in the training endeavor, a meaningful job must be provided for him. Not infrequently, trainees think in terms of becoming involved in some community-development project, an admirable but not often practical goal. Local residents very quickly

resent the young white man who arrives on Thursday full of community plans, and leaves two weeks later with little accomplished save stirring up some aspirations. Unless the training facility can be assured that its trainees can make a continuing and finally completed effort toward some community project, this type of thing is best avoided.

One successful endeavor in Hawaii consists of providing manpower to conduct surveys. The current hunger for information by government and private agencies cannot be satisfied, in most cases, through regularly appropriated funds, and the response to trainee information-gatherers is generally good. On the Big Island, trainees have collected stool samples and vaccination survey data for the Health Department; they have also conducted surveys for the Social Security Administration and the Department of Research and Development, County of Hawaii. Such activities provide a rationale for the trainee to be in a community, gives him access to local people, and provides an opportunity to observe and interact with the community. Moreover, the work itself often has immediate and visible results, such as finding older people who are eligible for benefits of which they were unaware, or helping to solve health problems. From time to time the more predictably doctrinaire trainee will raise the issue of working for The Establishment, and question the motives of the government agency wanting certain information. This in itself can be useful in developing questions about the responsibility of the Peace Corps Volunteer, and his anticipated response to the expressed needs of officials in Host Country government. In some cases the trainee is able to make the adjustment from the individual-oriented college culture to the institution- or program-oriented Peace Corps culture. In other cases he is given an opportunity to

test himself against a situation which parallels that which he will find in-country -- and decides voluntarily that he can't measure up.

A major hurdle in Hawaii has been to convince trainees that local populations -- despite housing that by mainland standards seems dilapidated, and despite dark skins -- are not in most cases "culturally disadvantaged," and resent the idea that they need "help." Such work often brings the college graduate into direct confrontation for the first time with people who do not agree with his philosophic and political views. Most of the people he will meet generally place new job opportunities above Vietnam in their list of priorities. Nor have many of them found themselves interacting with people who often demonstrate the rather classic symptoms of old-fashioned patriotism. Such experiences, <u>if properly followed up and made the basis for discussion</u>, are important for adjustment to in-country assignment, as well as being important personal experiences.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the need for discussion and follow-up. It is an illusion, often fostered by educational specialists, that people will inevitably discover for themselves the right ideas and right attitudes and right analysis of a situation if simply left to their own devices, or placed in the proper atmosphere. Perhaps, given unlimited time, that is true. But a trainee, constantly prodded by the demands of language training, involved in technical training, and contemplating the decision which he must make about himself (if it is not made for him), cannot be expected to achieve these discoveries on schedule, as it were. The trainer must be able to illustrate -- from what, to the trainee, may be totally meaningless little experiences -- concepts of cultural understanding, and the nature of seeing and analyzing culture. In many cases, the trainee must be <u>told</u> what his experience was all about.

The manner of telling is most important. If delivered in a way that makes him look foolish, some of the impact is lost in self-defense. Occasionally feeling foolish never hurt anyone permanently, and certainly reflects the real world in which we all play the fool from time to time, but it is at least partially counter-productive if the trainer adopts the attitude, "See what I know that you don't," rather than, "Let's discover this together."

Perhaps the best person to tell a trainee the meaning of experience is another trainee. That is, if he isn't overbearing or know-it-all in his approach. Anthropology or Sociology graduates can be terribly offensive to their peers if they think they know what cross-cultural training is all about, and have the air of just going along for laughs. By and large, they are no more prepared to cope with cross-cultural experience than anyone else, their Social Science training being primarily an intellectual matter.

Whatever way the experience is brought home to the trainee, the point is that it must be brought home, not left hanging in the air simply because theory says that the trainee will realize things all by himself. That, to my way of thinking, is total abdication of one's responsibility as a trainer and a teacher.

Conclusions on Community Involvement

The real heart of any Cross-Cultural Training Program is in actual experiences with people who differ from those the trainee has known before. Therefore, any training program should be developed around some form of Community Involvement. Examination of American culture, self-examination, short-term exercises -- all prepare the trainee for Community Involvement, but do not substitute for actual community work. However, community work

should not be undertaken without preparation. To my mind, an ideal situation would be a program which included two weeks of Community Involvement, plus an equal period of In-Country Community Involvement before going on assignment.

If, as is often the case, time precludes such a period during U.S. training, Community Involvement can be conducted in-country -- if the in-country staff is prepared to conduct really meaningful community work, and if the trainees have been properly prepared beforehand in the U.S. I believe the weight of Peace Corps experience suggests, and objective research would prove, that no trainee should be sent to in-country training without a period of cultural preparation before going overseas. In short, there should be no total in-country training. For properly prepared trainees, however, in-country training can provide vital experience.

Community Involvement demands much of the trainer. Most of these demands must be met before training. Whatever form of Community Involvement is chosen, whether in the U.S. or in-country, or both, the trainer must know the community. He must be fairly certain of the kinds of experience a trainee will encounter. He must have acceptable explanations for these experiences. In addition, he must be able to relate his own overseas experiences, the experiences of the trainee, and social science concepts, to the assignment overseas. This requires trainers with cross-cultural experience and academic experience in the Social Sciences, as well as a sensitive eye to human behavior, because this sensitivity is the basis for assessing the success of the training program.

There is no way of rating trainees involved in actual situations by a rigid scale. Rather, the trainer must be alert to specific instances which suggest when the trainee is developing a culture-oriented frame of mind. The right trainer can do this, the wrong one can't. There is no way one can be certain, save by observation and practice.

COUNTRY-SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES

It is often difficult at first to convince trainees who are destined for Tonga or Korea or the Philippines that reflecting on American culture and learning about Hawaiian (or Navajo or Mexican, or whatever) culture is relevant to their eventual assignment. Nor do Country Directors or other country-oriented clients of Peace Corps accept without cavil the idea that it is more efficient to learn about culture than to learn a culture. And yet, results from the field, and from many personal experiences, strongly support the idea that the experiential, Second Culture approach is better than the Area Studies approach. That is, a trainee is better equipped to enter Korean culture by having actual experience in Hawaiian culture, than by having been inundated with information about Korea. One exceptionally insightful study of Volunteers in Korea has suggested that often there is too much formal teaching of Korean history, culture, customs, religion, and the like; they were dependent on what they had "learned," rather than being motivated to see what they could learn for themselves. In short, an intensive input of formal country-specific information simply replaced one stereotype with another. The fact that the new stereotype was somewhat more accurate, and the trainee did have an intellectual grasp of Korean history, no more prepared him for work in a middle school or a myun health center than would any other kind of information.

One must, however, take into consideration trainee anxiety about going to a new country. He wants to know, and this need to know should not be ignored. But merely to provide information which is satisfying during training, but which the trainer has every reason to believe will not be useful during service, is absolute irresponsibility.

Some trainers, going to the extreme, have attempted to create a blackout on country-specific information until the "right" time. This has only escalated the anxiety of trainees and of the Host Country National Staff, the latter feeling they had been forbidden to talk about their homeland. I think a safe rule about introducing country-specific information should be that trainee questions should be answered when they occur... if they can be formulated in specific and meaningful terms. Requests like, "Tell us about Korea," should not be answered, simply because they can't be. "How do you greet an older person?" is the type of question that can and should be answered.

In many cases, of course, the trainee already knows the answer to such questions, just from having watched the behavior of Host Country Nationals on the staff. Their presence provides a constant input of country-specific information of the most useful and personal sort. Frequently this is not interpreted as "information" by trainees accustomed to formal classes and lectures, and accordingly must be pointed out to them. If a regular series of activities containing country-specific information is incorporated in a program from the beginning, the level of trainee-anxiety is certainly lowered.

Country-specific information can be introduced while the main emphasis in the program is in examination of self and American culture. In fact, no better way of learning about American culture can be imagined than by contrasting it to Hawaiian or Korean or Tongan culture, as manifested by Host Country Nationals.

It should be remembered, however, that Host Country Nationals often tend to overemphasize certain kinds of behavior: those aspects of their

own culture which are most symbolic to them, and most prized. There is therefore a tendency to spend a great deal of time on party behavior and etiquette, ceremonial drinking, dancing and singing, learning specific rules of courtesy, such as how to hand a person a cup, etc. This is equivalent to an American wanting to take a foreigner to a ball game or give him a "typical" American meal of steak, hamburger sandwich, or prime ribs of beef -- but not a TV dinner or left-over casserole. RPCVs also tend to isolate a very few specific kinds of behavior to the exclusion of all others.

This section will suggest some systematic approaches to Country-Specific Information which are experiential in nature, yet do not attempt simulation of the host country.

Newspapers

Every training program should be well stocked with English-language newspapers and magazines from the host country. The staff should not expect trainees to read them automatically; rather, trainees should be asked simple orientation questions which perusal of a newspaper can answer. Particular attention should be given to unusual (to Americans) usages of familiar words, names of prominent persons, initials of organizations and government departments, etc. In India, for instance, a young man who publicly presses his suit too vigorously is an "eve teaser" and can be arrested...an idol-lifter is a thief who robs old temples. In the Philippines, the Monkeys are not a popular rock group with a TV show, but a band of bandits and outlaws. Such lists are endless.

Trainees can be given simple assignment-sheets and asked to fill them out. Only the most disinterested will be able to resist becoming

involved in some story or continuing situation after reading a week's editions of a newspaper. While the information sought is useful, it is mainly a device to get the trainee involved in what is happening in-country, while getting him used to newspaper language and making him somewhat knowledgeable about affairs in the host country.

Newspapers can also be used as a basis for discussion of values: What appears to be important and newsworthy in the Manila Times, as compared to the Honolulu Advertiser? What are the probable limits of vilification for editorial writers? How are similar stories treated in Korean and American papers?...

Maps and Atlases

Every training program must have a library stocked with useful maps and atlases. Once again, the staff should not be sanguine about trainees automatically gravitating to these materials. Assignments should be given which require reference to the map: If you are in Manila and wish to go to Mindoro, do you cross water or not? If it is very hot in Manila, and you get a vacation, where would you go to get cool? Is Chiang Mai closer to Bangkok than it is to the Burmese border?

Such assignments should be brief, and should not be made too much of. Their purpose is to give the Volunteer a general orientation to the geography of the country, so that he is not totally disoriented upon arrival.

Contrasting War Stories (developed by Sylvia Dann)

RPCV instructors, in particular, tend to come into training determined to "tell it like it is." This is an admirable ambition, but seldom does the

unstructured war-story session have real training pay-off. Generally "like it is" means the worst and most annoying part of the overseas experience, seldom the best. Nor does it lend itself to the development of an objective approach to the host culture. And the trainee, of course, has no way of evaluating war stories offered by the RPCV.

Besides helping to solve some of these problems, this exercise tends to force the trainee to accept in a very real and personal way his identification as an American and a product of American culture. It also provides an opportunity, not only for RPCVs but Host Country Nationals, to "get things off their chests." The procedure is simple. RPCVs who have served in the host country are assembled and directed to discuss their experiences while trainees and Host Country Staff listen. After they have finished, usually the following day, the Host Country Nationals are asked to do the same thing -- that is, discuss their experiences with Peace Corps Volunteers and other Americans.

These two sessions can be used as a basis for much discussion by trainees. The first point they should see is that simply being in a country does not, in and of itself, make you an expert...your personal interpretation of the experience may differ widely from that of a Host Country National. It also serves to illustrate in the most dramatic way the kinds of behavior that Host Country Nationals find offensive or funny or puzzling. Moreover, the entire experience usually is one in which a marked contrast in behavior is noted. Asian peoples tend to suppress their anger or disagreement and listen quietly to the war stories, making their point (or getting their revenge, if you wish) when their time comes. RPCVs and trainees, on the other hand, often find it

hard to suppress their disagreement or anger at the time, and tend to interrupt the proceedings in an attempt to clarify or contradict. Much can be learned from this. Another point, particularly important to this generation of trainees, is the discovery that they do indeed identify themselves as Americans, often rising to defend American cultural patterns about which they considered themselves objectively critical.

The final pay-off of this exercise is that it manages to get tension and friction-producing issues into the open.

Foreigner's Fishbowl

Learning that other people don't always see things as you see them is very important to anyone headed overseas.

One way to press this home is to arrange for Host Country Nationals to discuss, in the presence of trainees, what they know and have learned about the U.S.A. Two general reactions tend to come from this:

1. Trainees are often shocked to learn how other people view generally accepted American behavior. For instance, one Korean instructor was totally shocked by the implications about American attitudes suggested by the practice of paying workers by the hour. He felt it indicated a total lack of concern with the individual as a human being.
2. Trainees are often amazed to learn how much Host Country Nationals have seen and learned about the United States in a short period. This can be used by the trainer to encourage the trainee to believe that he can do the same kind of job of learning in the host country.

Host Country Films

Any opportunity to show popular films from the host country should be seized upon by the trainer. Films tend to emphasize cultural patterns. Even without subtitles, a film can be used to illustrate what are ideal (though perhaps exaggerated) roles for men, women, old people, as well as attitudes toward sex, violence, humor, etc. Inasmuch as they are produced to please the masses, films constitute an important statement about the masses.

In countries without a film industry, every effort should be made to discover what foreign films are most widely and enthusiastically received as a clue to host country responses. Even the style and quality of production are often a good basis from which to begin discussions of precisely what this means in terms of underdevelopment.* Moreover, films provide an interesting and almost subliminal means of introducing the landscape and scenery of the host country. All in all, a highly important training investment.

Lacking host country films, there should be at least one or two viewings of other foreign films, as a device for practicing observation and analysis of behavior.

Host Country Role-Playing

This is essentially the same exercise as the role-playing exercise described earlier, except that HCNs are asked to play out situations as comparable as their culture provides to the ones done by the trainees

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(*) It may simply mean not enough money for technically excellent production.

earlier. If the earlier sessions have been taped, they can be played back for comparison. Time must be allowed for trainees (or the trainer, if trainees do not) to ask the how and why and where of the behavior of the HCNs.

General Considerations

Country-specific training, then, can begin on the first day and continue throughout the program with a gradually increasing emphasis. The prime source of information and experience is the Host Country Staff. One should not worry too much whether the staff is "typical" -- there is no such thing. A person from Tonga (as long as he has not become an expatriate and spent too much time out of his country) remains a Tongan, whether or not he is educated. There is a tendency to think only of the poor and uneducated as typical of host countries. This is both incorrect and insulting, not to say counter-productive, because the PCV most likely will not be working with the poor and uneducated, but with the relatively affluent and educated Tongan, Korean or Thai, who is also trying to help his poorer and less educated countrymen.

The experiential model tends to shy away from formal lecture presentations, but no rule is so firm that it can't be violated. In the matter of Country-Specific Information, it must be broken. Here there are but two rules:

1) Don't use too many;

2) Pick your lecturer carefully.

A week or two jammed with lectures about politics, religion, etc., will become a bore and a confusion, even in the case of the best of lecturers. On the other hand, a few well chosen and well delivered lectures can

provide a fine finish for a training program, or serve as an effective transition from one stage to another. And no matter how important the information may be, it will be a waste of time if delivered in an unexciting, unimaginative way. A lecturer for Cross-Cultural Training must be willing to sacrifice academic, scholarly or scientific elegance or completeness for impact; he must not be so impressed with his professional posture that he can't be approached informally or challenged severely. A lecturer who can meet these demands can add immeasurably to a program; one who can't is better left on the campus.

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